

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00

USIE-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00

OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02

SS-15 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05 BIB-01 ERDE-00

CU-02 /080 W

----- 112885

O R 091557Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1292

USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 11122

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: APPLICABILITY TO BERLIN

REFS: (A) GENEVA 5257; (B) BONN 10389

1. AT BONN GROUP MEETING JULY 8, FRG REP INFORMED OTHERS THAT GENSCHEER HAD RETURNED ONE DAY EARLY FROM HIS AFRICA TRIP BECAUSE OF DEVELOPMENTS IN GENEVA. IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE FRG COULD NOT AGREE TO A DATE FOR THE COMMENCEMENT OF STAGE III BEFORE THE PEACEFUL CHANGE, QRR DISCLAIMER AND THE ALL-EUROPEAN PROVISIONS WERE AGREED UPON.

2. FRENCH, UK, AND GERMAN REPS EXPRESSED AGREEMENT OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS TO UK DRAFT TEXT OF HELSINKI STATEMENT
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CONTAINED PARA 4 REFTEL (B). US REP STATED HE HAD

NO INSTRUCTIONS BUT NOTED THAT IF STATEMENT WERE TO BE MADE AS SUGGESTED BY EACH OF GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES AT HELSINKI, THE LANGUAGE IN THE BRITISH TEXT READING: "...THE THREE GOVERNMENTS CONSIDER..." SHOULD READ "THE US (UK/FRENCH).GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS..."; OTHERS AGREED. FRG REP STATED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WAS VERY FAVORABLE TO A HELSINKI STATEMENT SUCH AS THE UK TEXT, AS THE "EUROPE CLAUSE" WOULD NOT, BY ITS TERMS, BE DIRECTLY APPLICABLE TO BERLIN. THE FRENCH REP EXPRESSED VIEW THAT AN AGREED TEXT SHOULD BE ALL THAT THE GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES AT HELSINKI SHOULD SAY DIRECTLY CONCERNING THE RELATIONS OF THE CSCE DOCUMENTS TO BERLIN. IN COMMENTING ON THE US-PROPOSED TEXT DESCRIBED PARAGRAPH ONE REFTEL (B), THE FRENCH REP EXPRESSED VIEW THAT IT WAS TOO LONG, MIGHT THEREBY EVOKE A USSR REACTION, AND THAT IT PLAYED UP THE EXPECTATIONS OF THE ALLIES CONCERNING THE APPLICABILITY OF THE BENEFITS OF THE CSCE TO BERLIN WHEREAS IT WAS BETTER TO ACT AS IF THOSE BENEFITS APPLY WITHOUT ANY FURTHER STATEMENT BEING MADE.

3. THE FRENCH REP SUGGESTED THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF THE FOUR ALLIES COULD SEEK TO COORDINATE ON THE COMPATIBILITY OF AND EMPHASIS IN THEIR TWENTY-MINUTE STATEMENTS AT HELSINKI ON VARIOUS MATTERS SUCH AS EVALUATION OF IMPORTANCE OF MBFR, CSCE, THE QA, ETC AS PREREQUISITES AND ASPECTS OF DETENTE, IN PARTICULAR THOSE EVALUATIONS DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY BEARING ON BERLIN, OTHERWISE DIFFERENCES IN EMPHASIS WOULD BE TAKEN TO IMPLY SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE ALLIES WHICH IN TURN COULD WELL DETRACT FROM THE INTENDED EFFECT OF THREE IDENTICAL STATEMENTS CONCERNING THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE CSCE DOCUMENTS TO BERLIN. THE FRG REPRESENTATIVE EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT IT WAS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT THAT THE STATEMENTS OF THE UK, FRENCH, AND FRG GOVERNMENTS INVOLVED IN BERLIN BE IN LINE WITH THE STATEMENT THAT WOULD BE MADE AT HELSINKI BY THE SPOKESMAN FOR THE US GOVERNMENT, THE ONLY NON-EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT INVOLVED IN BERLIN. THE DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED IN SEEKING TO COORDINATE EVEN ON

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THE GENERAL EMPHASIS TO BE GIVEN BY THE STATEMENTS TO BE MADE BY HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT IN HELSINKI WERE RECOGNIZED, BUT IT WAS ASSUMED THAT CONSIDERATION WOULD BE GIVEN TO THESE ASPECTS..

4. WITH RESPECT TO THE QUESTION OF SHOWING TO THE SOVIETS THE AGREED STATEMENT TO BE MADE BY THE THREE GOVERNMENTS AT HELSINKI, FRENCH REP AGAIN STATED VIEW

THAT THIS WAS NECESSARY AS MEANS OF SEEKING TO MINIMIZE RISK THAT SOVIETS WOULD MAKE A REPLY. IT WAS NOT CONSIDERED ESSENTIAL THAT THIS TAKE PLACE BEFORE THE BREAK-UP OF STAGE II OF THE CSCE. REPS ASSUMED, HOWEVER, THAT GOVERNMENTS WOULD CONSIDER THE "IF," "HOW," AND "WHEN" OF SUCH AN APPROACH TO THE SOVIETS IN LIGHT OF THE PRACTICES DEVELOPED IN GENEVA IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CSCE.

WITH RESPECT TO THE POSSIBILITY THAT SUCH

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 11122

AN APPROACH MIGHT TAKE PLACE IN
MOSCOW BEFORE STAGE III, THE FRENCH EXPRESSED THE

OPINION THAT THIS WOULD UNDULY STRESS THE
IMPORTANCE THAT WE ATTACH TO OUR STATEMENT.

5. NEITHER UK, FRENCH, NOR BRITISH REPS WERE AWARE
OF THE RE-NAMED "EUROPE CLAUSE" AS QUOTED IN PARA 2
OF REFTEL (A), NOR DID FRENCH REP SHOW AWARENESS
OF ANY CHANGE IN ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF HIS GOVERN-
MENT TO THE INCLUSION OF SOME FORM OF THE LANGUAGE
INITIALLY DISCUSSED BY THE FRG REP WITH THE SOVIET
REP AT GENEVA. THUS, EMBASSY CAN REPORT NO REACTION
IN THE BONN GROUP TO THE LANGUAGE OF THE "EUROPE
CLAUSE" QUOTED IN REFTEL (A).
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6. ACTION REQUESTED: THE EMBASSY HAS, OF COURSE,
BEEN COMPLETELY NONCOMMITTAL ON ANY QUESTIONS CON-
CERNING PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT AT HELSINKI. SINCE,
HOWEVER, THE SUBJECT HAS BEEN RAISED AND DISCUSSED
BY BONN GROUP REPS, AND WILL DOUBTLESS CONTINUE TO
FIGURE IN DISCUSSIONS AS A MATTER OF PARTICULAR
CONCERN TO FRG GOVERNMENT, EMBASSY WOULD BE GRATEFUL
FOR DEPARTMENT GUIDANCE.
HILLENBRAND

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